THE OPPOSITION CAMPAIGN SHEET ANSWERED.

MR. SANDFIELD MACDONALD AND THE OPPOSITION.

(From the Toronto "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, March 28, 1879.)

SANDFIELD MACDONALD opposed the Confederation scheme on the ground that it would result in too much government. However, when the British North American Act became law, and the union of the Provinces was consummated, he loyally accepted the situation, and served the country with rare devotion to the day of his death. Last summer, in a speech at Lindsay, Hon. Oliver Mowat, who knew SANDFIELD MACDONALD daily from 1857 to 1871, recognized, and paid the dead statesman a worthy tribute. "SANDFIELD MACDONALD," said Mr. Mowat, "was a man who would neither do wrong himself, nor allow those around him to do wrong." As first Premier of Ontario, SANDFIELD had it down on his chief principle, that economy in Local affairs was necessary to the existence of the Federal system. Holding this view, he opposed the public expenditure which he thought unnecessary, and which, if allowed to grow unchecked, would end in the destruction of the Federal system. Nothing can be more preposterous, not to say impudent, than the claim of the present Ontario Opposition to inherit the virtues, or wear the mantle of the late J. Sandfield Macdonald.

Messrs. Meredith, Morris & Co. are Tories, Conservatives, or Liberal Conservatives, to whom the very name of "Reformer" is hateful.

Mr. J. Sandfield Macdonald was a life-long Reformer.

These men are the devoted and blind followers of Sir John A. Macdonald, the Tory Leader at Ottawa.

Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was, until nearly the close of his life, bitterly opposed to, and the object of the bitter hostility of Sir John A. Macdonald.

Neither Messrs. Meredith nor Morris was a member of the Local Legislature in the time of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald. When Mr. J. S. Macdonald was Premier of Ontario, Mr. Morris was a member of Sir John A. Macdonald's Administration.

The one member of the Local Legislature at the present time who can fairly claim a real connection with Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, is Attorney-General Mowat, his old colleague in 1862-3, and who now leads—not a Tory Opposition, but—a Reform Government.

When, on the 20th December, 1871, Mr. J. S. Macdonald moved a vote of censure on the yet inchoate Administration of Mr. Blake, his old followers, all save eleven, forsook him and voted against him. Thus repudiated, he would have no more to do with them, refused to attend a caucus to choose a leader, went home to Cornwall in disgust, and left them to shout—not a Reformer, but—a life-long Tory, Mr. Matthew Crooks Cameron.

It was as a Reformer Mr. Macdonald used the part of an economist, and passed some liberal measures.

It was Tory convictions that led him to usurp the authority belonging to Parliament, alienated him from old friends, and led to his downfall.

Only one of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's local Cabinet is in public life to-day. That one is his late Tory colleague, Mr. John Carling, now, as then, a Tory supporter of a Tory chief.

Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, as a member of the House of Commons, frequently refused to support Sir John A. Macdonald's Government, then in power. Mr. E. B. Wood frequently spoke and voted (as on the British Columbia resolution) against Sir John. The only member of the Sandfield Macdonald Government that steadily supported Sir John at Ottawa was Mr. John Carling, by whose favour Mr. Meredith now represents London in the Local Legislature.

MR. SANDFIELD MACDONALD NOT A CONSERVATIVE.

Nothing can be more preposterous, not to say impudent, than the claim of the present Ontario Opposition to inherit the virtues, or wear the mantle of the late J. Sandfield Macdonald.

Messrs. Meredith, Morris & Co. are Tories, Conservatives, or Liberal Conservatives, to whom the very name of "Reformer" is hateful.

Mr. J. Sandfield Macdonald was a life-long Reformer.

These men are the devoted and blind followers of Sir John A. Macdonald, the Tory Leader at Ottawa.

Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was, until nearly the close of his life, bitterly opposed to, and the object of the bitter hostility of Sir John A. Macdonald.

Neither Messrs. Meredith nor Morris was a member of the Local Legislature in the time of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald. When Mr. J. S. Macdonald was Premier of Ontario, Mr. Morris was a member of Sir John A. Macdonald's Administration.

The one member of the Local Legislature at the present time who can fairly claim a real connection with Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, is Attorney-General Mowat, his old colleague in 1862-3, and who now leads—not a Tory Opposition, but—a Reform Government.

When, on the 20th December, 1871, Mr. J. S. Macdonald moved a vote of censure on the yet inchoate Administration of Mr. Blake, his old followers, all save eleven, forsook him and voted against him. Thus repudiated, he would have no more to do with them, refused to attend a caucus to choose a leader, went home to Cornwall in disgust, and left them to shout—not a Reformer, but—a life-long Tory, Mr. Matthew Crooks Cameron.

It was as a Reformer Mr. Macdonald used the part of an economist, and passed some liberal measures.

It was Tory convictions that led him to usurp the authority belonging to Parliament, alienated him from old friends, and led to his downfall.

Only one of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's local Cabinet is in public life to-day. That one is his late Tory colleague, Mr. John Carling, now, as then, a Tory supporter of a Tory chief.

Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, as a member of the House of Commons, frequently refused to support Sir John A. Macdonald's Government, then in power. Mr. E. B. Wood frequently spoke and voted (as on the British Columbia resolution) against Sir John. The only member of the Sandfield Macdonald Government that steadily supported Sir John at Ottawa was Mr. John Carling, by whose favour Mr. Meredith now represents London in the Local Legislature.

THE OPPOSITION AS ECONOMISTS.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, March 28th, 1879.)

"When this faithful public servant was defeated in the Legislature, a new order of things was established, and his successors, adhering to despise his policy of parsimony, launched out into excessive expenditure. The result bears witness to the economy of Sandfield's principles. The public burdens have become almost intolerable, and men do not hesitate to say that we have far too much government. It is certain, however, a radical change is made, that the pressure on farmers will weigh up, and their labour many years. The opposition against the cost of Local government is not confined to Ontario; it is general throughout the Dominion. In one or two of the Provinces they have abolished, or are about to abolish, the Legislative Council; while in others Local Union is proposed. The prevailing opinion in the Provinces appears to be that the Federal system must be preserved at any cost, and it is felt that the Federal system cannot be preserved if any rash and ill-advised step is taken by the Opposition in the Ontario Legislature. Mr. Mowat and others by the Opposition and the Mowatist press throughout the Province, with a view to the future and the Mowatist press throughout the Province, with a view to the future and the Mowatist press throughout the Province, with a view to the future

Professions No Proof.

A Tory in opposition is always virtuous. A Tory in power is always a spendthrift.

"When the Devil was sick, the devil a saint would be;
But when the Devil got well, the devil a saint was he."

What assurance has the country, that the present Opposition leaders in Ontario are economists?

Do mere professions or homemade resolutions prove their true intentions?

What are their antecedents, and in what school have they graduated?

When did they practise the doctrine that "Economy is the only means of salvation"?

They are the blind guides and followers of a leader whose performances as an economist have been as follows:—

WHAT THEIR GREAT EXAMPLE DID.

In 1854, John A. Macdonald became one of the principal members of the Cauchon Administration, which succeeded that of Sir Francis Hincks.

There was a surplus in the Treasury when Sir Francis Hincks left office of $1,000,000. $2,000,000 stood to the credit of the Government for public works commenced and the public debt reduced out of surplus revenue.

In 1856, Sir John A. Macdonald became the Upper Canadian leader of the Government.

In 1857, TWO-FIFTHS OF THE WHOLE EXPENDITURE HAD TO BE MET BY BORROWING, to avoid showing a deficit of $2,000,000.

The treasury was empty; the $1,000,000 to credit was gone.

The Government banking account was overdrawn to the amount of $2,000,000.

The interest of the public debt had increased from $1,200,000 to $2,600,000, the whole of which, except about half a million, was chargeable against our revenue of about 4½ millions of dollars.

In 1854, the entire expenditure, including interest and public works, was but $4,100,000.

In 1857, it had been increased to $7,000,000, in face of enormous annual deficits, by the guide, model, philosopher, and friend of the men who are now, the *Mail* says, preaching that "Economy is the only means of salvation."

These facts were all brought out by investigations before the Public Accounts Committee, &c., &c., at the time, and are now matters of history.

	$	
In 1856, the Revenue was	5,270,627	
And the Expenditure	5,645,944	
Deficit		3,375,317
In 1859, the Revenue was	6,597,017	
And the Expenditure	8,091,761	
Deficit		1,494,744
In 1860, the Revenue was	7,436,568	
And the Expenditure	9,449,578	
Deficit		1,973,009
In 1861, the Revenue was	7,842,926	
And the Expenditure	8,842,984	
Deficit		1,999,008
In 1862, the Revenue was	7,277,168	
And the Expenditure	9,441,691	
Deficit		2,064,523

Increase of Expenditure, in five years, in face of annual deficits, by the great chieftain of the party that discovers "Economy is the only means of salvation." 795,551

Deficits in five years 10,907,290

The statement of Receipts and Expenditure from 1852 to 1862 are from a table prepared by Mr. Langton, the late auditor.

HIS NEXT GRAND ECONOMICAL ACHIEVEMENT.

From 1862 to 1864, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Government held power. From 1858 to 1857, John A. Macdonald again had a controlling influence in the Cabinet. And this is how he once more illustrated the doctrine that "Economy is the only means of salvation":—

In 1865 the expenditure was	$9,953,987
In 1866 it was	10,834,813
In 1867 it was	11,381,950
Increase in three years by the head of the school which teaches that "Economy is the only means of salvation"	1,427,963

THE GRANDEST OF ALL.

In 1867 Sir John A. Macdonald became Premier of the Dominion. He held office until November, 1873, and was therefore responsible for the finances for 1867-8-9, '70, '71, '72, '73, '74. And this is the way he once more illustrated the doctrine "that economy is the only means of salvation":

In 1867-8 the expenditure was	$13,486,092
In 1868-9 it was	14,088 084
In 1869-70 it was	14,345,509
In 1870-71 it was	15,822,081
In 1871-72 it was	17,589,468
In 1872-73 it was	19,174,647
In 1873-74 it was	23,316,316

Increase in expenditure in seven years effected by Messrs. Meredith, Morris and Co.'s trusted statesmen and economists, on the principle that "Economy is the only means of salvation."... 9,830,234

For expenditure from 1865 to 1874 see "Public Accounts." (Canada.)

And although the Revenue up to 1872-3 kept pace with the Expenditure, yet, in 1873-4, *by adding four millions of dollars to one session to the permanent expenditure of the country*, Sir John A. Macdonald exceeded his Finance Minister's own estimate of the Revenue for the year by no less than $1,500,000.

So that an increased expenditure of $9,830,234 in six years was Messrs. Meredith, Morris and Co.'s great exemplar's tribute to the doctrine that "Economy is the only means of salvation."

And their being the very humble followers of, and believers in, "Sir John," is absolutely the only claim and title these gentlemen have to be even suspected of being economists.

CANADA OVER GOVERNED.

TOO MANY EXECUTIVE COUNCILLORS.

From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, March 26th, 1879.

The Dominion, with a population of 4,000,000 people, is governed by [illegible] Council, seven Lieut.-Governors of provinces, and the Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Territories—nine governors in all. We have sixty-four Executive Councillors, &c.

Dominion	49
Ontario	8
Quebec	7
Nova Scotia	9
New Brunswick	6
P. E. Island	4
Manitoba	4
British Columbia	3
North West Territories	3
Keewatin	1
	95

Neither the *Mail* nor any of its party has ever proposed to abolish the office of Lieut.-Governor of Ontario. If there are too many such officers, it is to the smaller Provinces its objections should be addressed.

But how stands the account as regards Ontario and the alleged disproportionate number of Executive Councillors?

At Ottawa just now in order to keep up the thirteen ministers, the *Mail*'s friends in power are dividing the Public Works Department and so will create an office for the Minister who, by the union of the Receiver General's Department with the Finance Department might, perhaps, be dispensed with.

Why does not the *Mail* protest against two Ministers at Ottawa being employed to do what hitherto has been accomplished by one?

The *Mail* takes 1877, as its year of reference:—Well, in 1877,

Quebec (under Conservative rule) had one Executive Councillor for every	170,316 of population.
Nova Scotia had one Executive Councillor for every	43,090 "
New Brunswick had one Executive Councillor for every	35,699 "
Prince Edward Island had one Executive Councillor for every	16,000 "
Manitoba had one Executive Councillor for every	5 to 6,000 "
British Columbia had one Executive Councillor for every	6,000 "
While Ontario with vastly greater interests had only one Executive Councillor for every	**270,000 "**

HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE MOWAT ADMINISTRATION!!!

TOO MANY LEGISLATORS.

From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, March 26th, 1879.

We have 289 representatives, the Executive Council included, viz:

House of Commons	206
Senate	77
Ontario Assembly	88
Quebec Assembly	65
Quebec Legislative Council	24
Nova Scotia Assembly	38
Nova Scotia Legislative Council	19
New Brunswick Assembly	29
New Brunswick Legislative Council	15
P. E. Island Assembly	26
P. E. Island Legislative Council	7
Manitoba Assembly	28
British Columbia Assembly	25
	689

This is one representative for every 6,000 souls, or one for every 600 voters, embracing every lunatic, pauper & rogue.

If the Opposition wanted to cut down the number of members, why did not they make a motion to that effect? When they did not, what right has *The Mail* to raise that issue at all?

However, let us ask how in this matter Ontario stands as compared with other Provinces:

In 1877, (the year the *Mail* selects) Quebec (under Conservative rule) had one Legislator for every	12,452 of population.
Nova Scotia had one for every	6,000 " "
New Brunswick had one for every	5,000 " "
Prince Edward Island had one for every	2,700 " "
Manitoba had about one for every	800 " "
British Columbia had about one for every	900 " "
While Ontario with her great interests had only one for every	**18,400 of population.**

HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE MOWAT ADMINISTRATION!!!

COST OF LEGISLATION.

From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, March 26th, 1879.

The cost of Legislation, i.e. indemnities to members, salaries of the Speakers, clerks, &c., is as follows:

Dominion	$200,000
Ontario	100,000
Quebec	90,000
Nova Scotia	41,000
New Brunswick	30,000
Other Provinces	50,000
	$511,000

Here is another row of figures that will excite where "the shoe pinches" in this respect:—

In 1877, Dominion Legislation cost the people of Canada	17 cents per head.
In 1877, Quebec Legislation cost the people of Quebec	14 cents per head.
In 1877, the average cost of Legislation in the other Provinces was	15 cents per head.
In 1877, the cost of Legislation to the people of Ontario was only	7½ cents per head.
and is now, by the reduction of the indemnity, less than seven cents per head.	

HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE MOWAT ADMINISTRATION!!!

COST OF ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

The *Mail* complains of the cost of the Administration of Justice in 1877, and gives the following as the figures:—

For Ontario	$389,000.
For Quebec	408,000.

In this connection, comparisons with small Provinces would be of little value.

The *Mail* is good enough, however, to invite the statement by its comparison, that the Administration of Justice in Quebec, in 1877 (under Tory rule) cost the people 24 cents per head.

WHILE IN ONTARIO IT ONLY COST THE PEOPLE 17 CENTS PER HEAD.

HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE MOWAT ADMINISTRATION!!!

COST OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

The *Mail* says that, in 1877, the charge for Civil Government was, for Ontario [illegible], and for Quebec, [illegible].

In this [illegible], no fair comparison can be established between large and small Provinces, but it may be noted that the average cost of Civil Government to the five smaller Provinces of the Dominion, was just eleven cents per head of the population.

In Quebec (under Tory rule), the cost to the people of Civil Government, was	16 cents per head.
AND IN ONTARIO IT WAS WITH A FAR GREATER AMOUNT OF BUSINESS, ONLY	10 CENTS PER HEAD.

HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE MOWAT ADMINISTRATION ! ! !

EDUCATION.

But the *Mail* has one arrow yet left in its quiver. It is happy in the discovery that the Province of Quebec actually spends less for EDUCATION than the Province of Ontario !

Ontario spent in 1877 on the education of its people and the relief of local burdens in that connection	24 cents per head.
And Quebec, under the rule of a Tory government spent only	20 cents per head.

The Opposition are welcome to all the good they can get out of this line of advocacy ; their organ has evidently in all its previous [illegible], "got the wrong sow by the ear," and PROVES THAT ONTARIO UNDER A REFORM GOVERNMENT IS THE CHEAPEST AND MOST ECONOMICALLY GOVERNED PORTION OF THE WHOLE DOMINION, BOTH AS TO MEN AND MONEY.

As to Education, it is a very good old Tory idea to object to that vote, but Liberal-Conservatives will hardly thank their champion for putting them in the category of opponents to a liberal expenditure for Education.

ONTARIO AND THE STATES.

The *Mail* tries to make it appear as though Ontario were less economically governed than the United States.

There are only FIVE American State Legislatures in which the proportion of legislators to the population is slightly less than in Ontario.

The cost of legislation in :—

Connecticut, is	21 cents per head.
Pennsylvania	17½ " "
Massachusetts	16 " "
New York	12½ " "
Illinois	9 " "
Michigan	8½ " "
Wisconsin	8½ " "
Maine, over	8 " "

And in Ontario is now under 7 cents per head.

HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE MOWAT ADMINISTRATION ! ! !

The information as to the cost of State Legislation is obtained from the respective State Departments.

BIENNIAL SESSIONS.

The *Mail* hints at Biennial sessions being adopted as in some of the American States. It will be time enough to discuss this question when any responsible representative of the party the *Mail* supports comes out as an advocate for Biennial Sessions, and the other [illegible] constitutional changes this suggestion implies.

THE MINISTERS' SALARIES.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheets, April 21, 1879.)

In 1871 the salaries of Ministers were as follows ;

Premier	[illegible]
Treasurer	[illegible]
Crown Lands Commissioner	[illegible]
Public Works Commissioner	[illegible]
Provincial Secretary	[illegible]
Commissioner of Education	[illegible]
	[illegible]

The salary of Dr. Ryerson, Commissioner of Education, is included in the above for purposes of comparison, because that Department is now in charge of a sixth Minister. The [illegible] used to complain that these salaries were [illegible], yet Mr. Mowat did not hesitate to increase them at a time when the Government could ill afford it, and when economy would have been the first object of a true Reformer. The increase was as follows ;

Premier	[illegible]
Treasurer	4,000
Crown Lands Commissioner	4,000
Public Works Commissioner	4,000
Provincial Secretary	4,000
Minister of Education	4,000
	[illegible]

Or an increase of $7,[illegible] a year. Last session the Premier, anxious to make a show of economy on his death-bed, reduced the salaries to the following amounts ;

Premier	[illegible]
Treasurer	4,000
Crown Lands Commissioner	4,000
Public Works Commissioner	4,000
Provincial Secretary	4,000
Minister of Education	4,000
	[illegible]

So that the total is still $[illegible] more than the total of the Cabinet salaries under Sandfield. The Opposition made determined efforts from time to time to reduce these and other salaries. Last session (Votes and Proceedings, 1878, p. [illegible]), they moved a series of resolutions to that effect. Mr. Meredith moved as follows :—

"That in the opinion of this House, the salaries of Ministers should be $[illegible], with $1,000 additional for the Premier."

THE OPPOSITION APPROVED THE INCREASE.

The Salaries of the Ministers were increased, in the Session of 1875-6, with the express approval of every Opposition member in the House, including Mr. Meredith, the mover of the resolution of last Session.

WHAT THE GREAT ECONOMIST AT OTTAWA THOUGHT ABOUT SALARIES.

The Salary of the Premier of Ontario to-day is only equal to the amount which Sir John A. Macdonald in 1873 declared wholly insufficient for a Cabinet Minister at Ottawa to live upon.

In that year Sir John A. Macdonald secured an increase of the whole thirteen salaries at Ottawa from $5000 to $7,000, with another $1,000 for himself as Premier. (See Statutes Canada, 1873.)

His official income to-day is, including his indemnity as a member of Parliament, $9,000, or $4,100 a year more than that of the Premier of Ontario, and his colleagues all receive, although

THE OPPOSITION STRENGTH.

The increase was strongly opposed by the Opposition leaders and their followers, which can best be seen by the votes as recorded on the Journals of the Assembly and Toronto Mail of Feb. 7, 1876. The following are a few extracts only:—

Hon. Matthew Crooks Cameron, [illegible] member of the Opposition, [illegible] HE BELIEVED THE SALARIES OF THE GOVERNMENT WERE NOT SUFFICIENTLY PAID, AND THAT AS HE HAD STATED DURING THE MATTER WAS UNDERSTOOD BEFORE THE ELECTIONS, HE ENTIRELY APPROVED OF THE COURSE OF HON. GENTLEMEN IN THAT RESPECT.

Mr. Meredith, [illegible] member of the Opposition, [illegible] "Though he had made no remarks in favour of the resolution when it had been discussed with closed doors, he wished to say that he entirely concurred in the observations made by hon. members on both sides of the House as to the propriety of the course that Government had taken. HE FELT THAT THE SALARIES PAID TO MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT WERE NOT ADEQUATE TO THEIR IMPORTANT DUTIES, AND TO THE IMPORTANT POSITIONS THEY WERE CALLED UPON TO FILL."

Mr. Scott, Opposition Member for Wentworth, [illegible] "He was of opinion that [illegible] member of the Opposition] that THE SALARIES OF THE MINISTERS OF THE CROWN IN ONTARIO WERE NOT ADEQUATE TO THE POSITION."

Mr. Cameron, Opposition Member for Huron County, [illegible] and the supplier of Liberal [illegible] "HE WAS OF OPINION THAT THE AMOUNT FORMERLY PAID TO MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT WAS TOO SMALL, AND THAT THE INCREASE WAS NOT BY ANY MEANS TOO [illegible]"

Mr. [illegible], Opposition Member for [illegible], said [illegible] "HE BELIEVED THIS WAS A MOVE IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, AND ONE WHICH HE BELIEVED THE COUNTRY WOULD APPROVE."

Hon. Wm. Macdougall, then Dewey Leader of the Opposition, [illegible] "HE BELIEVED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD RIGHTLY PLACED THE SALARIES OF THE MINISTERS AT A HIGHER FIGURE THAN THEY HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY, AND THAT THE REMUNERATION OF MEMBERS OF THE RESPECTIVE ADMINISTRATION OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA."

Mr. [illegible], Opposition Member for [illegible], [illegible] "HE THOUGHT THE SALARIES OF THE MINISTERS OF THE CROWN IN THIS PROVINCE WERE NOT SUFFICIENT."

Mr. Mowat, Opposition Member for [illegible], said [illegible] "HE HAD NO DOUBT OF THE CORRECTNESS OF THE VIEWS OF HON. GENTLEMEN OPPOSITE THAT THE SALARIES OF THE EXECUTIVE HAD TO BE INCREASED."

Mr. Fraser, Opposition Member for [illegible], [illegible] "HE THOUGHT THAT THE SALARIES OF THE MINISTERS OF THE CROWN IN THIS PROVINCE WERE NOT SUFFICIENT. HE BELIEVED THAT THE ARRANGEMENT WHICH HAD BEEN MADE WAS A VERY PROPER ONE, AND HE HOPED THAT THE RESULT WOULD BE THAT THE BEST MEN IN THE COUNTRY WOULD BE INDUCED TO ENTER THE GOVERNMENT."

And in the *Mail* of Feb. 7, 1876, Hon. Matthew C. Cameron is reported as having said:—HE CONSIDERED IT HIS DUTY TO STATE HE HAD HIMSELF SUGGESTED THE INCREASE OF MINISTERS' SALARIES.

Mr. [illegible], commenting on the increase, the *Mail* itself said on the 8th February, 1876, "The Ministers' salaries have not only not been increased, but actually decreased, and the ministers generally on the scale on which they were paid. They are [illegible] than they have received, with the exception of the Premier, since the Confederation of the Provinces. In other words, the Ministers are receiving [illegible] than they received in 1867, when the Province was a [illegible] by [illegible] and the duties of the Ministers were [illegible] than they are now."

The honorable gentleman of Mr. Mowat's [illegible] proved to reduce the remuneration [illegible] $500 [illegible] than the *Mail* admitted in 1876 to be a fair remuneration; to $7,000 less than the Conservative leaders and members in 1870 agreed was barely sufficient; and $7,500 less than [illegible] Ministers were ought to receive.

THE INCREASE JUSTIFIED ON ITS MERITS.

The increase was however defended then; and is justified now on its merits.

The salaries are no temptation to any [illegible] of ease to accept this arduous, responsible and yet precarious office of Cabinet Minister.

They are not half so large as the permanent salaries of the chief officers of many public corporations. They are barely 60 per cent. [illegible] of ordinary [illegible] managers.

They are little more than half the salaries of Ministers of the Dominion.

They are very little [illegible] the salaries of other Colonial Ministers.

The Premier of New South Wales [illegible] $20,000 per annum, and each of his colleagues $15,000 per annum; and each of his colleagues $10,000.

The Premier of Victoria [illegible] $10,000; the Attorney-General $8,500, and each of the other [illegible] Ministers, $7,500.

The six Ministers of South Australia [illegible] $25,000 [illegible] $5,000.

New Zealand has a population of 400,000, with six Ministers each receiving $6,000 per annum.

The Premier of Tasmania, with a population equal to that of

all the salaries here named, ranging only $1,000, and his colleagues $4,000 per annum.

AN UNTRUE SUGGESTION.

THE SPEAKER'S SALARY.

[From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, *April 21, 1878.*]

In 1873, on the motion of Sir John A. Macdonald, the salary of the Speaker of the House of Commons at Ottawa, was raised from $3,200 to $4,000 a year.

At the same time the salary of the Speaker of the Senate was also raised from $6,000 to $4,000.

Nobody even cried the *Mail* or heard any member of its party say that was a wrong step, or call upon Parliament to cut down those salaries.

The sessions at Toronto have, as a rule, during the past five years, been very little shorter than those at Ottawa.

The duties of the Speaker in both cases are continuous throughout the year, as to various matters requiring attention and over-sight.

The salary of the Ontario Speaker was raised in 1872, the year in which the increase took place at Ottawa, not only without opposition, but with the approval of members on both sides of the House.

Last year, when the Speaker had voluntarily proposed a reduction of his salary to $1,200 for his twelve months' duties, and when the *Mail* subsequently gave its meed for so many hours' attendance during the session, the same men who approved this increase to $1,600, tried to make a little political capital for themselves by posing as quite off another $400.

THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S SALARY.

[From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, *April 21, 1878.*]

Another highly paid office in the Civil list is that of the Deputy Attorney-General. In 1873, he drew $4,000 a year; now he draws $4,800. Last Session, [illegible] moved [illegible] Mr. Mackenzie's Government [illegible] Mr. Scott's salary [illegible] Mr. Cameron and the Hon. Stephen Richards, both members of Mr. Mackenzie's Cabinet.

Mr. Cameron said:—"Under the circumstances he was prepared to vote for Mr. Scott's salary."

Mr. Richards said:—"To fulfil the position of Mr. Scott one must be an able and experienced lawyer. The Premier was a Chancery practitioner, and he (Mr. Richards) could justify his dissent only by saying that he should have preferred to see a gentleman well versed in Common Law practice. He thought that the salary of $4,000 was not excessive considering the object, importance, and industry of Mr. Scott."

On a hostile amendment being moved, the following members of the Opposition voted in favour of the increase:—Messrs. M. C. Cameron, Cayley, Hamilton, Meredith (new leader of the Opposition), Richards, Scott (Gray), and Williams (new Conservative Commons member for East Durham).

The office can only be properly filled by a lawyer of experience and ability.

The present Deputy-Attorney-General is acknowledged to be an excellent lawyer, a laborious public servant, and one who could earn by his profession, *if he pursued practice, far more than his present salary.*

Experience in a lawyer is everything; yet the proposal of the Opposition was to pay the Deputy Attorney-General $200 less than the latter men on their side had to be more than adequate, six years ago.

At Quebec, the Deputy-Attorney-General receives $4,000. In addition to this the Clerk of the Council receives $2,500. In Quebec, the Solicitor-General (an office analogous to that of Deputy-Attorney-General) receives $2,400, with far less work, and is able to devote himself to private practice.

The business of the Attorney-General's Department, of which that Deputy is the chief executive officer, has enormously increased since 1871.

The motion to cut down this salary by $800 was therefore not only unjust but evidently a piece of electioneering claptrap, and as Mr. Cameron, on the part of many who supported it, so it was voted.

CENSURING ITS FRIENDS AND ITSELF.

The *Mail* condemns the payment to the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly of $1,200 a year instead of $2,400 as in 1873.

This increase was made in 1873, with the endorsement of all parties, and without any opposition.

It was expected, as only a fair remuneration, for a gentleman filling a very responsible office, which entails not merely confinement, but considerable labour.

He was then Accused, as one has all ever, charged on this head.

[illegible] of a class of people much envious of seeing the loaves from others' ovens than their own. However, as it is in answer not only the Government but the whole Opposition and Opposition Press, the Mail of course included, for charging them the increase, and that the proposal for the Penny Postage.

We can now [illegible] of the Mail talking back with the Chief of the Ontario at Quebec being paid $8,000 a year, of with a Tory Government at Quebec giving the Chief of the Mines about $6,000 per annum, with far less work than the Chief at Toronto.

INSPECTOR'S SALARY.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 21st, 1879.)

"In 1871 the Inspector of Public Institutions was paid $3,000 a year, he now draws $3,600. Last session (Votes and Proceedings, 1878, p. 231) the Opposition moved to reduce his salary to $2,400 but their resolution was voted down."

And the Inspector does three or four times the work for the money.

There is no department of the public service that spends less in proportion to actual work done. There is no country where the same work is done so cheaply.

From a return made to the House last session the following facts relating to the business of the Inspector's office are taken.

In six years, 1871-1877, the number of Public Institutions inspected increased from 57 to 79, or 39 per cent. The number of statutory inspections made, increased from 104 to 159, or 56 per cent.

The number of prisoners committed to gaols thus adding largely to the Inspector's duties, increased from [illegible] in 1871, to 15,481, in 1877, or 103 per cent.

The Central Prison has become a new and very important feature in the Inspector's duties since 1871.

The average number of insane persons in the public asylums was 1040 in 1877, against 973 in 1871, or an increase of	103 per cent.
The patients and inmates of hospitals, &c., inspected, increased from 4,969 in 1871 to 8,193 in 1877, or	65 per cent.
The correspondence of the office increased	373 per cent.

and other official business in proportion.

But no one who really takes the trouble to ascertain what the duties of the Inspector are, or what qualifications they demand, will pretend to say he is too highly remunerated.

The following gives a mere outline:—He is responsible for the due supervision and control of all the public institutions and asylums of the Province; of the [illegible] Prison, the Penitentiaries, Reformatory, and of [illegible] Every gaol and look-up. He must investigate critically the affairs and operations of every hospital and charity receiving government money, [illegible] He must [illegible] and discipline of all and of the very chief personnel of the inside and [illegible] duties. He is the chief [illegible] of lunatics' estates not otherwise provided. He keeps all supplies, makes contracts, holds inquiries, frames by-laws, and has equally to see that every dollar of some $600,000 is properly and economically spent and accounted for. Does anybody mean to say $3,600 is too much to pay for all this? The whole cost of his office, including salaries, clerks, correspondence and travelling expenses is only some $7,500 per annum.

No one thinks the present Inspector is a most competent and faithful officer. How long would it take to have any number of dollars, or thousands for that matter, if he were to be replaced by an incompetent or dishonest one, in order to get the work done a little cheaper.

A VERY MEAN ATTACK.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 21, 1879.)

"In 1871 the Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands was paid $3,000 a year, he now draws $3,600. Last session (Votes and Proceedings, 1878, p. 232) the Opposition moved to reduce it to $3,000, but their resolution was voted down."

This is too bad. The increase of $600 was made, in this case, in 1873, on the express appeal of Opposition members, led by the Hon. M. C. Cameron and supported by Hon. Stephen Richards. (See Toronto Mail, March 22nd, 1873.)

Now that Mr. Cameron is no longer in public life, and cannot defend himself, it is very mean to attack him in this fashion. And what is to be said of the attempt to make his act the ground of a charge of extravagance against the Mowat Government?

Crown Lands Expenditure.

The *Mail* attacks the increased expenditure of this Department, and very absurdly contrasts it with a—recently—diminished revenue.

A very large proportion of the Crown Lands Territory yields no revenue at all, and yet is a source of more expense than lands sold outright.

The Free Grant system is greatly in the public interest, but is an item expense, with no revenue to save it. With more townships opened to settlement, with a much larger area to be explored and patented, additional expense was unavoidable. The Free Grant townships open to settlement have increased from 55 in 1871 to 92 in 1878, with a corresponding increase in the average hunted and number of locations. More agents, consequently, must be employed, and more other work has to be done.

In the Woods and Forests Branch, although, under the influence of the existing depression the revenue has fallen off, the Department covers no less territory in its operations, and has an ever-extending area to guard and manage.

The Expenditure in Colonization roads, increased from $95,400 in 1871 to $99,612 in 1878, also involves a larger cost in management.

A bold charge of spending too much money against such a Department as this, is childish. If there is over-spending, it should be easy to point it out in detail. But no such attempt has been made.

Immigration.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 22, 1879.)

The amounts spent on Immigration since 1876 are as follows:

1875	$94,000
1876	48,[illegible]
1877	42,[illegible]
1878	42,[illegible]
	$227,[illegible]

The Immigration reports show the following arrivals of immigrants in this Province:—

1875	27,[illegible]
1876	27,[illegible]
1877	12,[illegible]
1878	13,[illegible]

The per capita cost of such immigrant has therefore been as follows:—

1873	$9 32
1874	7 83
1875	7 63
1876	9 44

This shows a considerable reduction; but it is difficult to make a comparison in this respect, for no account was kept of the number of immigrants who leave this country after a brief residence. Since 1874, the Library contract has been in a disorganized condition, and the books of Canadian have been unable to find employment, and the expenditure of nearly a quarter of a million to encourage an exodus of unemployed labour, by a Government for themselves. The fault to an overwhelming extent, by the Opposition have taken the ground that in our new adoption under such circumstances to assist family connections to emigrate, while the Administration, to whom the employment of European agents and of agents at the principal points in the Provinces gives a large measure of patronage, take the opposite view.

A TRUE ADMISSION.

The *Mail* has stated in one [illegible]

(1.) That the expense on Immigration has been largely reduced since 1874; and,

(2.) That the cost of each Immigrant to the Province, notwithstanding that, with a reduced number, the average cost per capita would be likely to increase, is only $7.94 per head.

The figures speak for themselves. "Since the Liberal party has been in a depressed condition" the only substantial reduced immigration received by the Government has been limited to farm labourers with families, and domestic servants. The only capitalists were going to their railway grants in Ontario, and the Province of Quebec, and there only.

But the *Mail* supposes that nobody knows how many leave Canada for the States instead of settling here.

Its friend, Senator Macpherson, says, that the immigration is made up by stamps from the States coming here.

Which of the two authorities is speaking the truth?

Is there any more reason to suppose that our immigrants have been flocking to an already over-stocked market, than that they went there when everything was busy and inviting on the other side?

The immigration to the States from Europe fell from about 450,000 in 1873 to 150,000 in 1877.

It is uncertain what numbers of persons have returned to Europe in consequence of the scarcity of labour in the States.

Does this look like an exodus of Canadian immigrants to the States?

When the public will also appreciate is, that the cost of an immigrant, whose value to the country is estimated by Dr. Edward Young—late of the Statistical Bureau at Washington, and who the Tariff advice of Mr. Finance Minister Tilley at Ottawa—at $500,—is only $9.44, thanks to the prudent and economical management of the Mowat Administration.

Mr. Donaldson, Dominion Immigration Agent at Toronto, who owed his original appointment to the party service so far back as 1861, to the Conservative party, has, in his reports for the last three years, borne the highest testimony to the superior class of immigrants passing through his agency, to the well-to-do condition of many, and to the demand for the services of all who wanted work being in advance of the supply.

With the influx of settlement in the Free Grant districts, and the migration of so many farmers and farmers' sons to Manitoba, inaction on the part of the Government would be criminal and suicidal.

The *Mail* accepts the fact, although it is buried in the report of the Department, that, in addition to the immigrants reported by the agents, in the numbers shown above, of whom [illegible] who, the following were [illegible] arriving by the Ontario railroads, namely: 1875, 7,951; 1871, 6,858; 1875, 4,000; showing a total of 18,788 in 1870; 17,979 in 1876, and 17,949 in 1877, [illegible] through the agencies, amount, per statement in the Ontario [illegible] of average cost.

In answer to the charge respecting an [illegible] of passenger received in the appointment of agents, it is only necessary to say, that there is only one Ontario agent in Europe, and that the agents in Ontario are limited to five, one [illegible] and that the agents for immigration in Quebec, and four in the agents, who assist the immigrants on Quebec, and four in the [illegible] Free Grant district, at the maximum salaries of $1200 a piece.

See Public Accounts; Immigration Report, &c., &c.

The Financial Position.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 1, 1878.)

THE FINANCIAL POSITION.

The following table of the receipts and expenditure from 1868 to 1878, shows an enormous increase in the expenditure, and an increase, but out of all proportion to the increase in revenue:

	Receipts.	Expenditure.
1868	$3,703,000	$3,178,000
1869	3,400,000	3,400,000
1870	3,800,000	3,800,000
1871	4,200,000	4,416,000
1872	4,600,000	4,600,000
1873	5,011,000	5,000,000
1874	5,445,000	5,271,000
1875	5,150,000	5,254,000
1876	7,000,000	6,100,000
1877	6,600,000	6,117,000
1878	6,254,000	6,000,000

It will be seen that since 1874, the expenditure has largely exceeded the revenue, the excess being as follows:

1874	$[illegible]
1875	445,000
1876	851,000
1877	[illegible]
1878	646,000
Total	$3,795,000

GROSS MISREPRESENTATION.

The *Mail* charges the same line as Senator Macpherson and other correspondents, who seek to make out that the expenditure has exceeded the revenue by charging the surplus distributions, and other special payments, against current [illegible]

"It will be seen," it says, "that since 1874, the expenditure has largely exceeded the revenue," and then gives the figures.

Now, in 1874, the [illegible] payments were made under the Mail [illegible] Fund Distribution Act, a measure every one, the *Mail* [illegible] admitted, to be a just and proper mode of [illegible]

In 1874 the amount paid under the head of Municipal Loan Fund Distribution was $1,001,100.

In that year the [illegible] there was a deficit of $426,000.

It pretends to show this by including in the moneys paid during the year, the sum of $1,321,101 above mentioned, which was simply the people's commutation capital handed back to the people.

If a man who, by saving a couple of hundred dollars a year out of his income, had managed to put by a thousand dollars in a bank, drew it out and built a house with it, any person who maliciously alleged he was in embarrassment, that year spending more than his income by $1,000 would be laughed at. If he did it by means of the credit of the commutation sum, when an invested sum, he would be called a Shylock.

In 1873 the sum of $666,943 was handed over to the municipalities under the same Act. In that year the *Mail* falsely pretends there was a deficit of $648,000.

So that in these two years, but for the deception then attempted, the *Mail* would have to admit that there was, in 1874—not a deficit but—a surplus of $696,101, and in 1875 a surplus of $541,263, after providing for everything save Municipal Loans Fund Distribution above.

The True State of Affairs.

The Revenue.

The actual receipts of the Province from 1874 to 1878, inclusive, have been as follows:—

1874	$3,646,347
1875	3,156,606
1876	2,589,323
1877	3,227,699
1878	2,506,925
	$14,726,796

But from this must be deducted $746,857, the amount of money temporarily borrowed on the advice of Sir. John Rose against a pending sale of securities. The operation was a profitable one to the Province, but the item is only in Revenue as a matter of account. That leaves—

$13,979,941 as the actual Revenue for the six Years.

These figures are given in a comparative statement of receipts and expenditure presented to the Legislature last Session, verified by the signature of the Auditor.

The Expenditure.

The following sums were voted by the Legislature to meet current expenditure, and are all to be found in the Supply Bills of the respective years:—

1874	$2,342,230
1875	2,063,550
1876	2,155,185
1877	2,363,606
1878	2,409,854
Total expenditure under the Supply Bill	$11,333,415

The account that stands as follows:—

Revenue for the six years	$13,979,941
Expenditure	11,333,414
Surplus	$2,646,527

But the *Mail* adds to the expenditure in order to establish a deficit of $1,750,000, the following payments:—

Aid to Railways under special Acts of the Legislature	$1,479,500
Municipal Loan Fund Distribution	5,250,278
Purchase of Boulevard Auphan	24,000
Quebec Bad shareholders paid to Municipalities	67,500
Subsidy Provincial Schools (special payment)	25,207
Quebec Hall improvements (a special payment)	24,000
Refunds of Revenue Licenses under Judgment of Supreme Court	5,443
Total Expenditure as against current Revenue for special objects, and unfairly charged by the *Mail*, against current Expenditure	$4,032,878

Worse Still.

The organ of the Opposition, in its party campaign sheet, does not stop there. It puts charges against current expenditure, in order to deceive the public, the investments in 5 per cent. Municipal Drainage Debentures; as good a security as any in the Province, and ranking as a Sinking Fund asset in the Treasurer's financial statements.

The sums invested in Drainage Debentures, and in Drainage Works, payable by a rent-charge on the lands drained, amounted in the five years to no less than

$417,589,

which must be added to the

$4,932,873,

making altogether

$5,350,462

dishonestly charged by the *Mail* to annual expenditure, in order to manufacture a bogus deficit.

A Comparison between 1871 and 1878.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 1, 1879.)

The sums spent on what is known as capital account, &c., on public works, special fund outlay, etc., and on purely [illegible] expenditure, have been as follows:—

	Capital Account.	Consolidated Expenditure.
1869	$ 139,000	$1,000,000
1870	400,100	1,000,000
1871	[illegible]	[illegible]
1872	[illegible]	[illegible]

	Capital Account.	Controllable Expenditure.
1873	1,179,489	1,760,660
1874	2,084,929	1,760,660
1875	1,777,103	1,827,400
1876	1,943,400	1,880,200
1877	1,114,600	2,057,000
1878	844,000	2,056,400

This table makes it plain that, capital account expenditure aside, the controllable expenditure has risen under Reform rule from $1,760,660 to $2,056,400—an increase of $295,800, or nearly 70 per cent.

The *Mail* attempts by misusing the phrase "controllable expenditure," to create a false impression.

The whole of the expenditure under the Supply Bill is, in the sense, "controllable," but that term has usually been applied to the following items:—Education, Immigration, Agriculture, &c.; Hospitals and Charities, Public Buildings, Public Works, and Colonization Roads.

Under the head of "Ordinary Expenditure" are classed the following:—Civil Government, Legislation, Administration of Justice, Maintenance of Public Institutions, Miscellaneous, Ocean Mails Expenditure, Refunds, &c.

1871 compared with 1878.

In 1871 (Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's first year of office), what is called "Ordinary Expenditure," amounted to $533,176
And what is called "Controllable Expenditure," &c. 982,690

Total 1,515,866

an outlay $1,139,030, the amount, under these two heads, spent by the same Government in 1868,

Or an increase in four years of more than fifty per cent.

In 1878, the "Ordinary Expenditure," so called, was $1,348,527
And the "Controllable," so called, was 1,139,954

Total $2,488,535
The aggregate increase over 1871 was, therefore $581,667

Or thirty-two per cent. in seven years against fifty per cent. in four years.

But, under the head of "Ordinary" expenditure is included the charge for maintenance of public institutions; just as direct a relief to local and municipal burdens as Education, and some other items grouped under the head of "controllable." This item increased from $317,638, in 1871, to $679,480, in 1878, accounting for $311,000 of the apparent increase.

Education, too, under the head of "Controllable," rose from $351,396 in 1871, to $568,056 in 1878, accounting for another $216,000 of the alleged increase.

A Favourable Comparison.

While the increase in the charges for *all purposes* was most less proportionately from 1872 to 1878, than from 1868 to 1871, the expenditure for objects directly beneficial to the public, and exclusive of surplus distribution, was much greater. Take the following items:—

1868 to 1871.

Education	$1,273,527	or	$318,382 per annum.
Maintenance of Public Institutions	661,551	"	137,888 "
Colonization Roads	177,000	"	44,475 "
Agriculture and Arts	300,728	"	71,707 "
Hospitals and Charities	161,770	"	44,048 "
Total in four years	$2,329,576	or	$582,394 per annum.

1872 to 1878.

Education	$2,226,268	or	$309,196 per annum.
Maintenance of Public Institutions	2,279,284	"	329,126 "
Colonization Roads	664,227	"	94,961 "
Agriculture and Arts	626,234	"	89,399 "
Hospitals and Charities	309,502	"	44,450 "
Total	$7,564,916	or	$1,080,702 per annum.

Comparison.

1868-71—Aggregate expenditure on above items	$2,329,576	or	$ 582,394 per annum.
1872-78— " "	7,564,916	"	1,080,702 "
Increase			$447,311 per annum.

So that the Blake and Mowat Administration spent FOUR HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVEN THOUSAND DOLLARS annually on these objects alone in excess of the sum devoted to the same objects by the previous Government.

Whatever increase has taken place in Departmental expenditure has been solely owing to the growth of public business.

But the absurd ground on which it is now sought to snatch a verdict against the Mowat Government is that it has spent the people's money for the direct benefit and relief of the people.

A Miserable Quibble.

The Mail tries to raise a side issue by quibbling over the question whether, in Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's time, the Trust Funds held by the Dominion, and some other assets, were or were not regarded as a portion of the surplus.

The point is really of no importance whatever. Treasurer E. B. Wood, in his last Budget speech, Feb. 7, 1871, (see papers of that date), expressly alluded to those funds as part of the surplus in the public treasury, which, he alleged, amounted to $6,000,000, including $3,500,000 in cash and investments; and the "Funds" aforesaid. This was before $1,500,000 had been voted to be "set apart" for aid to railways.

The Two Surpluses 1871-1878 compared.

But here is the logical account, as it stood on the 31st December, 1877, taken from the public records:—

Investments and Special Deposits	$3,627,979
Cash Balance	172,999
Special Trust Funds still Invested	2,702,413
Ontario's share in Library at Ottawa in 1867	169,511
Gross surplus	$4,702,923

Less the following Liabilities:—

Sums since advertised to be due to Quebec under the award	$ 138,556	
Railway Aid Fund vested and embodied in a Statute in 1871	1,500,000	
Total Liabilities		$ 1,638,556
Net surplus assets		$ 3,064,367

Taking exactly the same items, Mr. Treasurer Wood in his late Budget Speech shows the Assets on the 31st Dec. 1873, to be $5,542,743

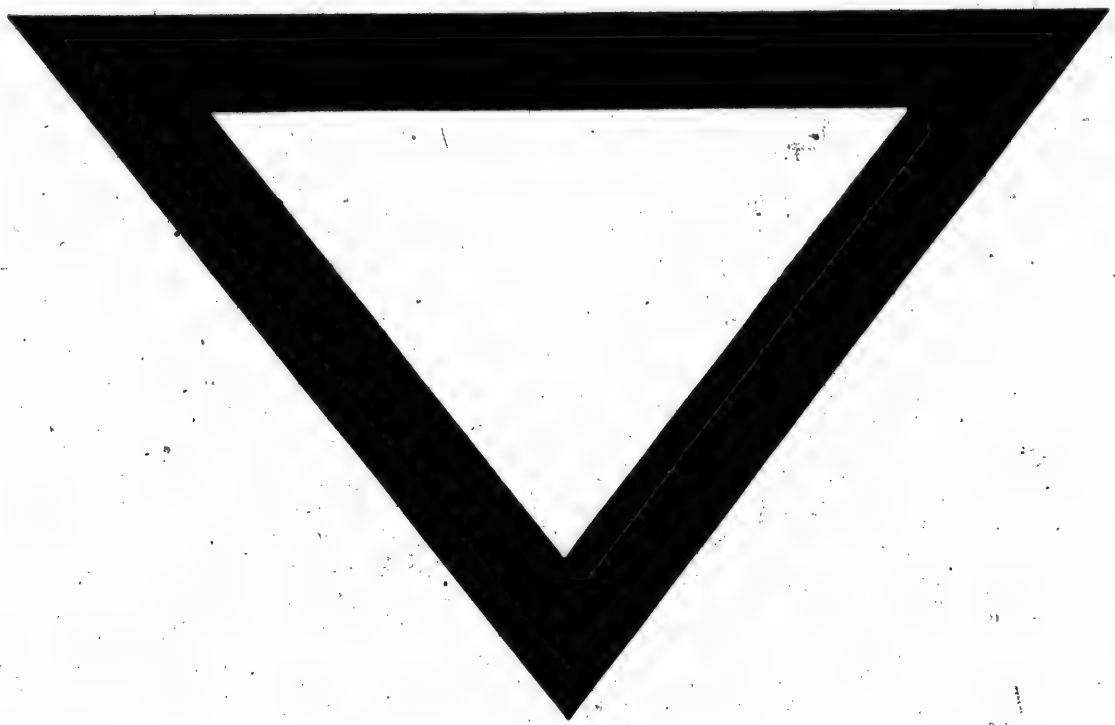
And the Liabilities $1,411,760

Leaving, after providing for every obligation a surplus of $4,130,983

And then, the after distributing under the Municipal Loan Fund Adjustment Scheme, $2,525,376; and $771,024 in aid to Railways over and above the amount appropriated by the Sinking Fund Municipal Act of 1871.

If then we take the exact surplus at the end of 1871, and the same at the end of 1873, we shall find that over *Four Millions of dollars from accrued surplus* (in addition to the $1,500,000 originally voted for Railways) have been *paid* to the people by the *Mowat Government* for those two objects, with the effect of reducing the surplus as it stood on the 31st Dec. 1871, only $632,556.

The whole of the foregoing statements are taken from the Public Accounts or other official documents.

As shown by Treasurer S. C. Wood, in his Budget Speech, no less a sum than $17,560,570 has been distributed since 1871, among the people for public objects, independent of the cost of Government and numerous other charges.

See Budget Speech, 1873, page 46.